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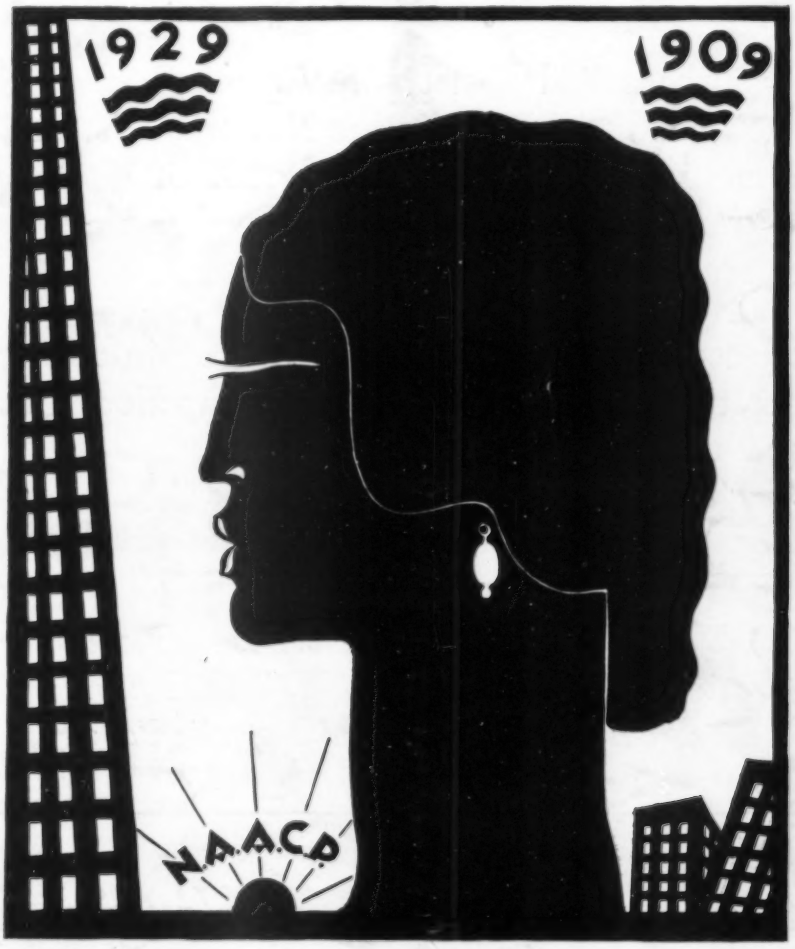
A Record of The Darker Races



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Fifth	172.00	82.00	254.00	492.00
Sixth	210.00	101.00	311.00	610.00
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ASSETS

Cash on Hand and in Banks	$ 396,108.11
Real Estate Owned	1,121,884.03
Mortgage Loans on Real Estate	364,525.47
Collateral Loans	142,965.00
Policy Loans and Premium Notes	646,522.87
Bonds and Stocks	1,579,108.33
Interest and Rents Due and Accrued	53,050.74
Net Deferred and Uncollected Premiums	273,154.76
Policy Liens and Lien Account	1,402,088.75
All Other Assets	126,058.01
TOTAL NET ASSETS	$6,109,866.09

LIABILITIES

Legal Reserve on Policies	$4,841,605.19
Claims Pending and in process of settlement	75,522.20
Commissions, Fees, Rents and Expenses Due and Accrued	22,364.64
Reserve for Taxes, Interest, and Premiums Paid in Advance	91,453.09
Agents' Security Deposits	35,997.28
Deferred Bond Purchase Payments and Bills Payable	570,579.30
All Other Liabilities	81,905.88
Surplus to Policyholders	**390,438.51**
TOTAL LIABILITIES	$6,109,866.09

HIGH LIGHTS OF 1928

New Policies Issued	181,614	Interest and Rents	280,405.20
Premium Income	$3,502,955.63	Matured Endowments, Health and Disability Claims Paid	458,813.59
Death Claims Paid	675,661.49		
New Insurance Issued	$39,269,022.00		

TOTAL INSURANCE IN FORCE - - $75,552,984.00

The record for 1928, which the figures above summarize, fittingly capped thirty years of progress. The substantial worth of the group service rendered by the National Benefit during those three decades need not be emphasized by us. It is an integral part of the forward march of the Race. It is a tradition which continues. It has, however, been given emphasis by the award, to the founder of the company, of the 1928 Gold Medal and Honorarium of the Harmon Foundation, for the most distinguished contribution to Negro business on a national scale.

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A Record of the Darker Races

W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS, *Editor* — PIERCE MCN. THOMPSON, *Business Manager*

Volume 36, No. 5 — **Contents for May, 1929** — *Whole No. 223*

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THE CRISIS will publish during the next few months a new short story by Charles W. Chesnutt; the story of what Captain James W. Floyd did for the freedom of Cuba; a play by Marita O. Bonner; an essay by C. F. Andrews of India; and an informing article on Negro physicians.

As the Crow Flies

THE Italian Fascist Party has put up one ticket of their own and elected it by an unbelievably large majority, to their own enthusiastic satisfaction. — Chiang-Kai-Shek deserted industrial democracy in China and attempted to lead the Burgeoisie toward Nationalism. He is stumbling if not falling between two stools: Militarism, backed by Japan, and Communism, backed by Canton.—South Africa is going to vote on the fear of black folk and no one is satisfied with the election manifesto: neither those who are afraid, nor those who profess not to be.—Oklahoma has kicked out a Governor and is about to clean up the Supreme Court; while Louisiana is starting after her official drunkard. Thus, white supremacy truimphs.—Charles Henry Brent, long Bishop in the Philippines and fighter of British opium, is dead.—England, with the help of the ghost of Cecil Rhodes, is trying to deprive West Indian Negroes of Rhode Scholarships at Oxford.—General Motors has bought the German Auto Industry and will hereafter conduct that part of the government.—The General Electric Company has bought a large part of the British Electric Industry and now is disputing as to whether this domination of England by America shall be open or concealed.—The world goes merrily on. We have a new two billion dollar bank in New York, which owns Haiti and South America. We have a billion dollar bank in Chicago that owns the Middle West. We have fifty Americans who own the earth. Sometime the voters will shed enough of their stupidity to vest in real popular government the imperial power that now rests in these private hands.—Meantime, what on earth shall our millionaires do with their millions? They can buy fake Romneys, smuggle whiskey, and fight the labor unions. But even these things pall.—The time for the complete collapse of the Russian Soviet Government has again been indefinitely postponed.—If a Judge is a thief in the United States, all he has to do to escape prosecution is to stand on his dignity and resign.—What the United States Government and the various states ought to do is to give up all their activities except those having to do with prohibition. They could then kill bootleggers on sight, sink the British Navy, and allow all Congressman to bring in their liquor for grandfather personally without annoyance.—There are few Negro scientists. This may be due to our small brain capacity or possibly to the fact that when a University like Harvard gives $58,000 to 41 professors for scientific research, none of the professors would dare to have had a black Great-Grandfather. And besides, who ever heard of a colored Harvard professor or a colored Princeton student?—In Europe, a small group of men representing the bankers of the world are determining how much several million workers in Germany, France, England, Africa, and parts North, East, West and South, shall eat next year; what they shall wear; and how they shall live? It is a big responsibility, this Germany Reparations business.—They have buried a man in France and laid him beside Napoleon. He helped the nations murder millions. We know how to appreciate greatness.

THE CRISIS is published monthly and copyrighted by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People at 69 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 15 cents a copy, $1.50 a year. Foreign subscriptions $1.75. The date of expiration of each subscription is printed on the wrapper. When the subscription is due a blue renewal blank is enclosed. The address of a subscriber may be changed as often as desired, but both the old and new address must be given and two weeks' notice is necessary. Manuscripts and drawings relating to colored people are desired. They must be accompanied by return postage and while THE CRISIS uses every care it assumes no responsibility for their safety in transit. Entered as second class matter November 2, 1910, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.

Spring is here!

Beyond the Color Line

By DOROTHY P. GARY

This is the story of the experiences of a Southern white girl exploring for friends beyond the color line. It is a true narrative by a young college instructor.

EVERY summer we were shipped back to the farm, that is, what was left of our grandfather's place after the Civil War.

What fun it was on the farm, after the city winter! Especially with Bob. Bob was a husky colored lad, slightly older and taller than we. Every day he came to milk the cows and do odd jobs around the place. My brother and I followed him around adoringly, while he did his chores, helping where he would let us.

As the milk streamed into pails, Bob would joke and sing, and we three were happy. Chores done, we were off for some glorious hours of play. Bob could always think of such corking things to do. Dashing from haystack to haystack playing tag, or throwing corncobs at the cows, to taunt them into chasing us. The best game of all was "sliding". There were clay banks near the barn. After a rain, they were slick and shiney. The game was first to climb on all fours, up; then you'd earned a slide down. How we worked on those banks, to keep them smooth and slippery. For hours we toted milkpails of water from the horse trough.

I remember Aunt Margaret's horror at the continued yellow on my brother's trousers and my once-white bloomers.

Then one summer, when I was ten years old, my aunt called my brother and me to her and said in a serious voice,

"You and Buster are getting to be big children now. Too big to play with Bob any longer."

"But why, Aunt Margaret?"

"Well—" she was a kindly soul, but not an eyelid quivered as she said this—"you know white people do not mix socially with Negroes. It was all right while you were little, but not any longer. Bob is a servant, you know. Speak nicely to him when you see him. But you are not to play together again. I have spoken to him about this. He understands that if any of you disobey, he will have to be dismissed".

"But—Aunt Margaret——" our voices trailed off. Deep misery and confusion engulfed us.

Bob and we never played together again. Once we asked him.

"Oh, *please* Bob". The look on his face awed me. His suffering had depths unknown to us. He turned his head. I wanted to wail, to throw my arms around him . . . or to go out and fight. Instead, my brother and I crept away. Hidden in the barnloft we wept with a great, unnamed misery.

It was not only that we had lost our chum. Something big, something ugly had descended upon us. Something which awoke in me a vast incoherent questioning. And rebellion.

This was my first lesson in "the race problem".

BELLE was the most beautiful creature I had ever seen. I would go into the kitchen of our Southern home, where she was at work, climb into a chair, plump my elbows on her work table and fasten my child's eyes on her warm brown face.

Her soft voice rose and fell as she moved leisurely from stove to cabinet. Best of all, I liked to watch her smooth arms and hands kneading the dough. Belle was a mulatto, combining in her makeup the best elements of both races. A study in soft browns shading into rose at the cheeks and mouth, and into gleaming black at the hair and eyes. Nose and mouth were finely chiseled.

One day I brought my books out into the kitchen for study.

"What you got thar, honey chile?" Her voice sounded husky.

"Jes' lessons, Belle". A sixth grade geography it was, spread out before me.

"Les hear you read some out loud to me". Then, "I wisht I could read that thar book. Lemme try." For an hour we spelled out the sentences together.

Suddenly Belle stopped. Her face hardened. "Oh, you're lucky, little'un, to go to school".

"But diden you go, Belle?"

"Naw."

"But why diden you, Belle? Doan colored children *have* to go to school, too?"

"Huh!" Bitterness seemed to choke the words back down her throat.

Next day in school I asked the teacher, "Why doan colored children have to go to school like white children do? And why diden someone learn folks, like Belle our cook, to read 'n write?" But the most I got was a correction for my poor grammar.

Sometimes when I would go into the kitchen Belle would be sitting with her face hidden in her arms, crying.

"What's the matter, Belle? Oh, *what's* the matter?" But she never would tell.

Once she said, "Better thank de' Lord, chile, you wasen born colored".

Belle had two small children to support on her three dollars a week wage. Children whose white father they never knew. (This fact I overheard my elders discussing). Belle used to take our old clothes that were given her, and make them over for her little ones. But this was slow work since it had to be done after the twelve hours she worked in our kitchen.

Then one day Belle left our kitchen, never to come back. No one would tell me why, but then in the backyard one day I overheard the cook next-door saying,

"Yes'm, Belle's done took up a life of shame. You know the white mens woulden leave her alone. Offered her lots of money. She sure was one pretty 'oman".

Very likely the three dollars was not enough.

IT was while a student at Columbia that I came to know Ethel, a gaunt dark girl who cleaned the rooms and dim hallways of the dormitory in which we lived. Three of us students were in the midst of a lively debate when unexpectedly the issue turned on Victor Hugo's "Les Miserables". Janet admitted that she had never read any of Hugo's works. Ethel straightening up from her work, said quietly,

"If you like, I will loan you my set of Hugo".

To our amazement we found Ethel had graduated from George Washington University with honors. Highly trained at her chosen work as secretary, she was unable to get a job, because of her color; doomed to clean floors because she was black.

Ethel brought Hugo to Janet. To me, she brought a closer grip on this monster race prejudice.

She was the first colored person whom I had known who was willing to explain to one of the wronging race, the Black Man's Burden. This gentle girl would fire with a wrath that seared and rent us both. Fact followed ugly fact until I fairly ached with the shame of being white.

But Ethel had no solution, and neither had I. Just two individuals

(*Will you please turn to page* 170)

The Negro Citizen

W. E. BURGHARDT DuBOIS

This article was read before the National Inter-racial Conference at Washington, D. C., December 19, 1928. *It is published here entire, with only verbal changes.*

WHAT we know about the civil and political rights of Negroes in the United States; what significance this knowledge has for social organizations whose purpose it is to improve conditions; and what further study by universities and research organizations is called for, is the subject of this paper.

Our general knowledge may thus be summarized: There is a system of color caste in the United States based on legal and customary race distinctions and discriminations, having to do with separation in travel, in schools, in public accommodations, in residence and in family relations. There is discrimination in the kind and amount of public school education and in civil rights of various sorts and in courts, jails and fines. There is disfranchisement of voters by means of various tests, including restrictions as to registration, and as to voting in primaries; and including the right of summary administrative decisions; and finally there is lynching and mob violence.

Over against this there are the war amendments of the Constitution and various civil right laws of the states and the decisions of the courts in these matters.

The results of these discriminations have been pretty carefully studied in the case of education and lynching, but have received little systematic study in the matter of voting and civil rights.

I doubt if it would be worth while to examine and expatiate on the general and pretty well-known facts of Negro citizenship and caste. I, therefore, pass to the matter of the significance of this general knowledge for social organizations whose purpose is to improve conditions.

AFRAID OF FACTS

HERE we are confronted not simply by lack of exact data but by a clear disposition not to investigate or even to discuss. I know of no organization that has ever proposed to study Negro suffrage.

The Honorable Oscar De Priest, Twenty-Second Negro Congressman.

I distinctly remember when this recoiling from the facts covered other fields. There was a time when social studies, having to do primarily with the health, physique and growth of the Negro population, were of pressing importance because of the widespread assumption that the Negro was not adapted to the American climate or to conditions of life under freedom and that he was bound sooner or later to die out.

It was necessary, therefore, to test by such scientific measurements as were available these assumptions. Yet for a long time universities and social organizations refused to touch the matter and philanthropists refused funds and encouragement when Atlanta University attempted its wretchedly restricted pioneer work. Times changed. Today, tests and measurements have gone so far that there is no further question of the survival of the Negro race in America and the physical studies connected with him are no different and demand no different technique or organization from the general physical studies carried on in the nation. The real question narrows down to matters of sanitation, hospitals and income. What has Negro suffrage to do with these?

AGAIN, between the years 1890 and 1910, the right of the American Negro to modern education had to be established and proven. It was assumed that the ability of the Negro to assimilate a college education was at least questionable; and it was dogmatically stated that the economic future of the Negro in America was such that all that he needed was industrial training to make him a contented laborer and servant; that this class of people did not need political power and could not use it; but that on the contrary their disfranchisement would free the South so that it could divide its vote on pressing political matters; and that the South could be depended upon to guard the rights of this working caste.

The fight was bitter and long drawn out. Those of us who insisted that in modern industrial life no laboring class could maintain itself without educational leadership and political power were assailed, put out of court, accused of jealousy, and of an overwhelming desire to promote miscegenation.

Today finds the educational part of our contention answered by facts. We have twelve thousand college students, where we had less than one thousand in 1900, and we are graduating today annually 1500 Bachelors of Art, when in 1900 we sent out less than 150. It is admitted now without serious question that the American Negro can use modern education for his group development, in economic and spiritual life.

There is, however, still the feeling that the present problems of Negro education are problems of charity, good will, self-sacrifice and double taxation and not problems which depend primarily for their final solution upon political power.

So, too, in the matter of housing, recreation and crime, we seem to assume that a knowledge of the facts of discrimination and of the needs of the colored public are sufficient, with faith, hope and charity, to bring ultimate betterment; and that in presenting demands to the government of city, state and nation, we have only to prove that Negro poverty, disease and crime hurt white citizens in order to induce the lawmakers elected by white citizens to do justice to black citizens.

POLITICAL POWER

IN the matter of occupation and income the need of political power in any laboring class is conceded by every social student; for the American Negro or his friends to dream that he can sustain himself as a peasant proprietor, an artisan or day laborer, and secure recognition from his organized voting white fellow worker and a decent wage from his employer, without a vote, is extraordinary. It is a conceded impossibility in every modern land.

We can point with some pride to what has been accomplished in the courts in breaking down caste and establishing Negro citizenship, and in the abolition of mob law and lynching. But we are still uncertain in estimating the cause and effects of such actions.

I have heard a number of plausible and attractive explanations of the decline of lynching from 226 in 1896 to 11 in 1928. Some attribute it to prayer, and others to inter-racial resolutions; but I see it differently. I see lynching increase and decrease indifferently, until in 1919 a nationwide agitation was begun by the N. A. A. C. P., backed by statistics, advertisements and meetings. The curve of mob murder fell lazily. Then suddenly in a single year it dropped 75%. I study the occurrences of that year, 1922. And that study leads me to believe that the effective check to lynching was the organized political power of Northern Negroes that put the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill through the House of Representatives January 26, 1922, by a vote of 230 to 119.

THE FILIBUSTER

THE bill was forced through a senate committee and reported to the Senate with a majority pledged to its passage. The only way that the South accomplished its defeat was by refusing to allow the government of the United States to function. Knowing that such high-handed measures were going a bit too far, the South promised to stop lynching and it has pretty nearly kept its word. And yet consider the cost: there has not been in Poland or in Haiti, in Russia or in the Balkans, a more open, impudent, and shameless holding up of Democracy than the senators of the Bourbon South, holding office on the disfranchised Negro vote, accomplished in November, 1922.

The success which we have had before the courts in abolishing the hereditary right to vote which the "Grandfather" clauses bestowed on white Southerners; the fight against segregation in residence and its spread in schools; the fight against the white primary and numerous Civil Rights cases have not simply been brought to successful issue because of our present small but increasing political power, but are without significance unless they point to fuller political power.

I do not for a moment argue that political power will immediately abolish color caste, make ignorant men intelligent or bad men good. We have caste and discrimination in the North with the vote and social progress in some parts of the South without it. But there is this vast difference: in states like New York where we are beginning to learn the meaning and use of the ballot we are building a firm and unshakable basis of permanent freedom. While every advance in the South unprotected by political power is based on chance and changing personalities and may at any time be vetoed by a hostile voting group. I maintain that political power is the beginning of all permanent reform and the only hope for maintaining gains.

THE NEGRO VOTE

THERE is today a surprisingly large number of intelligent and sincere people, both white and black, who really believe that the Negro problem in the United States can ultimately be solved without our being compelled to face and settle the question of the Negro vote.

Nearly all of our social studies apparently come to this conclusion, either openly or by assumption, and do not say, as they ought to say, and as everyone knows in the long run they must say, that granted impulse by philanthropy, help by enlightened public opinion, and the aid of time, no permanent improvement in the economic and social condition of Negroes is going to be made so long as they are deprived of political power to support and defend it.

Nowhere else in the world is there

any suggestion that a modern laboring class can permanently better itself without political power. It may be a question, it certainly is a question, as to just how labor is going to use this power ultimately so as to raise its economic and social status. But there is no question, but that such power must be had and today the world over it is being used.

With all the research that has gone on formerly, and especially in the last few years with regard to the American Negro, with singular equanimity, nothing has been said or done with regard to the Negro vote. I am, therefore, stressing in this paper the significance and the danger of this omission and I am seeking to say that of all the questions that are before us today that of political power on the part of the American Negro occupies, to my mind, the key position, and is the question which peculiarly tests the good faith of the American people, the honesty of philanthropy in America toward the Negro, and the sincerity of the National Inter-racial Conference.

A DEBATE

I LISTENED yesterday with mounting astonishment to a discussion of school betterment in the South. I am convinced that in no other civilized country in the world could such a discussion have taken place. The crucial problem was that of raising local funds for schools and of having the National Government supplement those funds in the poorer states: and the essential point in the whole matter was surely the selection of local officials who would spend the money as the local voting population wished; would raise funds by local taxation fairly placed on local wealth and would expend National monies equitably. In any other land the first point of the debate would have been the question of the selection of such proper officials and of the democratic control of their actions.

That question in the debate to which I listened was never raised. It was assumed that, although there were to be separate schools for Negroes, Negroes were to have no voice in the selection of local officials, no control of their own taxation, no vote on expenditure; and that despite this through philanthropy and good will you were going to get and maintain a decent and adequate school system for them.

If the present rulers of Russia had heard this debate they would have gone into gales of laughter; and if any government had attempted to carry on a debate on these lines in the English Parliament, the German Reichstag or the French Chamber of Deputies, the government would have been thrown out forthwith. Every Englishman, Frenchman and German would have said, without qualification, that education today can not be carried on as a matter of philanthropy and good will: that it is the duty of the State and that back of the State must stand some effective democratic control.

DEMOCRACY

MOST nations would have made this control the ballot in the hands of all adult citizens and even Italy and Russia and Turkey would affirm that this is the ideal toward which they consistently and steadily march.

It is of extraordinary significance that in an intelligent and open-hearted assembly, such a clear and obvious point was either not thought of or worse yet, the members did not have the courage to make it.

In the question of the lack of public funds for growing expense in education one cannot assume that Americans do not know what the public thought of the world in the most progressive countries is doing, in insisting that wealth bear a greater burden of taxation and that poverty be exempt. The United States is the one great country of the world where wealth is escaping taxation and where the burden of public contributions that falls upon the farmer, the small householder, the laborer and particularly the black laborer is crushing in its incidence; and yet how little is said of drafting by universal suffrage sufficient wealth for the public good to pay every reasonable expense and of putting the people, black and white, back of such draft.

I hold this truth to be self evident, that a disfranchised working-class in modern industrial civilization is worse than helpless. It is a menace, not simply to itself, but to every other group in the community. It will be diseased; it will be criminal; it will be ignorant; it will be the plaything of mobs, and it will be insulted by caste restrictions.

So far we are upon old ground. This argument has been urged many times in the past. It has failed to impress the people of the United States simply because so many folk do not care about the future of American Negroes. They once almost hoped that the problem would be settled by the Negroes dying out or migrating, or bowing in dumb submission to any kind of treatment that the people of the United States decided to give them.

But, today, the matter is changed, and it is changed because those Americans who have any ability to see and think are beginning slowly to realize that when Democracy fails for one group in the United States, it fails for the nation; and when it fails for the United States it fails for the world. A disfranchised group compels the disfranchisement of other groups. The white primary system in the South is simply a system which compels the white man to disfranchise himself in order to take the vote away from the Negro.

The present extraordinary political psychology of the Negro in the South; namely that the voluntary disfranchisement of intelligent and thrifty black men is helping to solve the Negro problem, is simply putting into the hands of scoundrels and grafters white and black the meagre remains of those political rights which 200,000 black civil war soldiers fought to gain.

THE BOURBON SOUTH

ALL this has led to extraordinary results. In the past we have deplored disfranchisement in the South because of its effect on the Negro. But it is not simply that the Negro remains a slave as long as he is disfranchised, but that Southern white laborers are dragged inevitably down to the Negro's position, and that the decent white South is not only deprived of decent government, but of all real voice in both local and national government. It is as true today as it ever was that the nation cannot exist half slave and half free.

Today, in the South, politicians have every incentive to cut down the number of voters, black and white. The Republican organization, in nine cases out of ten, becomes simply the tail to the Democratic kite. Party government disappears. Political power is vested in the hands of a clique of professional politicians, white and black, and there is nothing that has been done in dirty politics by Tammany in New York, by Thompson in Chicago, or Vare in Philadelphia, that you cannot find duplicated by the political oligarchies which rule the Southern South.

Political ignorance in the South has grown by leaps and bounds. The mass of people in the South today have no knowledge as to how they are governed or by whom. Elections have nothing to do with broad policies and social development but are matters of the selection of friends to lucrative offices and punishment of personal enemies. Local administration is a purposely disguised system of intrigue which not even an expert could unravel.

Today, a small group of Western Congressmen, to the dismay of East and South, are investigating the sale of

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Savage or Serene

By ALLISON DAVIS

Here is a beautiful philosophy daringly clear, calmly cynical and yet with a final clinging to hope and high ideals. It is an essay worth study and deep thought.

THE calm gods must often pity the dark beauty and passion of human life. They see evil, of no account to them, a constant though hidden presence to man. Our morning wishes are frustrate before dusk; aspiration, courage, love, sacrifice, all appear at last as broken melody.

The antique sculpture of Laokoön suggests the universal tragedy of man, tortured by serpentine desires and energies, with his nemesis folded in his very soul. Continually snatched away by some desire for happiness, we only lay ourselves open to the pain of intoxication and passion. "Our life is not so much threatened as our perception," writes Emerson. We are children of the fire, fascinated by every spark. What calm temper is not tossed aside "for a fantasy and trick of fame", what high purpose does not prove ironically obtuse and abrupt, what vision do we at last prefer to our dream of passion and inconstant beauty?

Yet there is one purpose sufficiently constant. An inextricable mingling of false and true in the whole of our lives is surely the very essence of our being. The most honest of us is a walking figment, an elaborate gesture. Life will not accept us otherwise. Hoping to attain the true, we inadvertently sacrifice truth; we can find no way to fashion a nobler reality without employing countless shams and attitudes. The love of truth, like a clarion, may stir even your sheerest demagogue, your emptiest crier of "service". For the moment, caught by the recital of some noble action, his imagination sways him, and he dares at least to speak for truth. To-morrow, we know, he will betray us. Nor is such meanness unfamiliar to our own natures. We have a blood kinship to honest Iago, "more fell than anguish, hunger, or the sea!" We have betrayed our friends, clothed advantage with loving gestures. We who have deserted our friends in their need know the constancy of that pity and sympathy the humanitarians invent.

Thus consciousness loses its reality; our two worlds of counterfeit and truth are hopelessly grown into every relationship. No man knows us. We do not know ourselves, nor do we care to look too closely. Perhaps all life's beauties would fade upon examination. Here are the despicable and the noble, the foul and the fair, and the relationship is not to be traced. Which of us, father and daughter, high-souled friends, poet-lover and deep-eyed girl, which purest of us can afford not to hide the greater part of our life from our beloved?

DEAR and fragile, "like sweet thoughts in a dream", is the illusion of love. The mystery and adventure of life open in infinite vista through the strangeness of this one woman's being, through fate and time, for thee! And our faith, beautiful in this moment, this year, is a poignant memory thereafter.

For, love, to be free of passion's nemesis, must be bound, and in that binding find its freedom. There is love for the beauty of high action, which is indeed "pure and clear and not clogged with the pollutions of mortality and all the colors of human life." Yet passion is a craving not to be quieted by reason nor human will. There are those in search of peace, who think only to glimpse beauty; straightway they are insnared by the golden net of passion. There are poets who, instead of a high imagination imitating the calm temper of the soul, reveal only their taints of blood. Ah, poets and lovers, hoping to win vision from sham and grossness!

Love is a brief, falling melody. The bitter chords of courage must be played to the very end. We are most convinced when men have shed their blood. With what shining courage, yea, challenges to the gods, have men died, even in our day, for loyalties built on prejudice and tangled hatreds! Perhaps courage for them was desperation, the will to try the last when the dark tower reared before them, unaware. We love Don Quixote, but we know that his obstinate insistence upon valor, in a world of knaves and innkeepers, is ridiculous.

LIFE is savage only for those who are unable to sense the end and destiny of its crude power. We may glimpse the inmost fates in the pattern of men's actions, although they remain inscrutable to passion or reason. The gods offer us a high mystery, in which patience, compass, endurance, are as mysterious as our petulancy and wantonness. Guided by a finer image of our fate, incited by a nobler illusion, we come at length upon the highway. There is humility, the chastening consciousness of universal tragedy. And there, at last, is a high imagination reconciling us to the calm gods.

There is courage and beauty which is self-denial. Son and daughter find such courage in their parents. Here it anywhere, they conceive, are spirits who have sacrificed to a purer beauty their dearest passions. Yet there will appear, alongside, envy and jealousy,—for sacrifice is more often lauded than achieved. For mother and father, besides the mystery of these new souls moving within and beyond their control, doubtless there is regret for aspiration and passion, sacrificed unwittingly. And, well hidden, there is remorse for the nemesis of their own lives renewing itself inevitably. Youth, too, is careless of renunciation and trust, and impatient of any love which demands sacrifice. In a moment, your son will give over the adventure of your life to chance and passion.

AT last death rounds out the immoral appearance of life. Here is evil which the valiancy of our spirit cannot o'ercrow. "We shall be fables presently." What matter if from the chaos there emerge the fitful strivings of mothers, friends, heroes? Hailed away from even a noble battle, they leave us only silence, "labial gossip of night".

Under the chastening view of death, the struggles and aims and fruits of our lives must appear fatally perverse. But we are no more mindful of her ceaseless whispering than is the figure in the old morality. Life is not to be reconciled with death; we are men, not shades. Yet in a moment, the change, —good and evil are one,—"the rest is silence". Our individuality, our consciousness of volition revolt against this pagan *fact,* irrational and unmoral, convincing us that the quality of life is as savage as its doom:

"Time, a maniac scattering dust,
And Life, a Fury flinging flame,

And men the flies of latter spring,

(*Will you please turn to page* 173)

THE N.A.A.C.P. BATTLE FRONT

THE N. A. A. C. P. IN THE SOUTH

THE land of cotton and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People are sometimes thought of as separated by a wide gulf. Thoughtless people suppose and speak of the N. A. A. C. P. as a Northern institution. Its National Office is "safely" located in New York City, at 69 Fifth Avenue. Its main financial strength is derived from northern and western states. And so the careless story gains currency that the N. A. A. C. P. is northern, of the North, and that it is not to be expected to penetrate the South spiritually or physically.

But is this the fact? I have just been looking over the proofs of the Association's Annual Report for the year 1928, which will go to press shortly and which ought to be printed by the time this is published. That report casts an interesting light on the assumption that the N. A. A. C. P. is a northern institution.

Particularly interesting and significant is the report of Robert W. Bagnall's Department of Branches. That report shows, among other things that meetings of the N. A. A. C. P. were held during the year in 33 states and the District of Columbia, this list of states including many of the far South. For example, meetings were held in Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Texas, Mississippi, Missouri, Maryland, Arkansas, not to speak of North Carolina and West Virginia. In addition, says Mr. Bagnall's report, "Messrs. Bagnall, Du Bois, Johnson and Miss Ovington made extensive tours in the South during the year." Addresses were delivered at Tuskegee and Talladega, in Atlanta University, New Orleans University, Xavier College, New Orleans, and other southern institutions of learning.

So that through its travelling emissaries, the Secretary, the Field Secretary, the Director of Branches, the Editor of the CRISIS and the Chairman of the Board, the N. A. A. C. P. maintained close touch with the part of the South which will most affect the future of race relations, the youth.

But the visits of its national officers, to hold meetings in Southern cities of the far South, to address schools and colleges there, are not the only contact the N. A. A. C. P. has maintained. Examine the roster of its court victories which have made history for the Negro in America, which have established fundamental rights for all classes of citizens, and it appears plainly that the N. A. A. C. P. has reached directly into the heart of the South.

Take the most effective attack which has yet been delivered on the white primary system in Southern states, by which the disfranchisement of colored people is bolstered. That system was given a deadly blow through the Texas white primary case carried before the United States Supreme Court and won there. How did it originate? Through a colored man, of El Paso, Texas, backed up by the local N. A. A. C. P. and later by the weight of the National body and its eminent legal committee.

Another case: Arkansas peonage. When the news went out to the nation in 1919, that Negro tenant farmers had organized to "massacre" the whites in Phillips County, Arkansas, and this was made the excuse for shooting down dozens of Negroes in cold blood, who went into that territory and got the facts? Walter White, Assistant Secretary of the Association. Who carried the cases of these Arkansas colored tenant farmers before the Supreme Courts of the State of Arkansas and of the United States?

I suppose Kentucky will be conceded to be a Southern state. It was there the famous Louisville Segregation case originated, which has forever made unconstitutional the passing of ordinances by state or city in this country, setting aside residential districts on the basis of race and color—a decision by the way which does not protect the Negro alone but other minority groups as well. At this very moment, in another southern city, Richmond, Virginia, a case is being fought, with the advice and help of the Association, seeking to reaffirm this very principle.

As for lynching, before the N. A. A. C. P. stepped into the front line some twenty years ago, it was an almost uncontradicted slander that the Negro was a rapist and that lynchings occurred chiefly to avenge "the usual crime". There was but one way to meet this slander. With facts. Those facts had to be obtained in the heart of the South. They were obtained there, often at risk of the lives of the investigators who volunteered to go in furtherance of the work which the N. A. A. C. P. was doing. That slander is as nearly dead as any widespread and insistently reiterated slander can be. The work of the Association killed it.

Of the five important victories before the United States Supreme Court, establishing fundamental principles of the Negro's civil rights in the United States, exactly five, or 100 per cent, originated south of Mason and Dixon.

Now it would be possible to go on indefinitely with individual instances of what the N. A. A. C. P. has done in the South. But that is not altogether the point. It is not alone what the N. A. A. C. P. has done but what it has stimulated others to do that becomes important.

It did dramatize the question of the Negro and his relationship to the country and particularly the white South, in a way that was new. It did provide a pressure of public sentiment, which caused the passage by the House of Representatives of the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill. And that measure has remained an ever-present threat, one which was given a prominent place in all political discussions during the last campaign in the South; and which had to do with the sudden drop in lynching figures to eleven in 1928, the lowest figure reached in the forty years that statistics have been kept.

Moreover, the N. A. A. C. P. has furnished example and leadership to other forces operating in the South: the Federal Council of Churches of Christ; the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. And with innumerable individuals, writers, editors and others, the Association has maintained a steady stream of correspondence. Colored members of its staff have lectured before classes of white students in white Southern universities; books, radio addresses, magazine and newspaper articles have reached audiences of millions, in the South as well as in other sections.

It seems only fair to say then, that if conditions are rapidly changing in the South; if there is beginning to be hope of new and better and more enlightened relations between Negro and white in the southern states, that development will owe something, will owe indeed much, to the steady, twenty-year long, unremitting work of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

So when anyone tells you it is a northern body; that its office is on Fifth Avenue; that it represents the northern Negroes chiefly, there are a few facts to be considered as a refutation of such a statement.

H. J. S.

The Little Page

By EFFIE LEE NEWSOME

Calendar Chat

"For he knows, though the great black
frost may blight
The hope of May in a single night,
That the spring, though it shrinks back
under the bark,
But bides its time, somewhere in the
dark."

—*Richard Hovey*

MAY on the way, that was what I found on a late February visit to the woods. This little world of trees was divided by a run that had just been set to stirring by a warmer day. Indeed the fields leading to the woods were almost freed from snow. But the floor of the woods was white in most places.

A south facing slope to the run was saddle brown with fallen oak and elm leaves. The opposite hill held its wrapping of white. On the way down this hillside I found a thick packing of brown leaves peeping from snow at the roots of a tree. A strip of green showed just under the withered leaves. What was there? Hepaticas, looking wonderfully contented under a roof of the elm tree root and the leaf thatching. A perfect nest of hepatica or bloodroot leaves was hiding there. Lively and young and green the leaves were waiting for their white and lavender tinted blossoms.

Candle

THE candle in the soft night air
Tosses its blue and golden hair.
The candle when the night is through
Wears just a crooked long black queue.

Whimsey

ONE time I found some *shepherd's-purse,*
And then a little pennyroyal
That must have fallen from the *purse*
And taken root there in the soil.

The Spider and the Fairy

This African folk tale was written by Pauline E. Dinkins just as it was told to her by a native in West Africa.

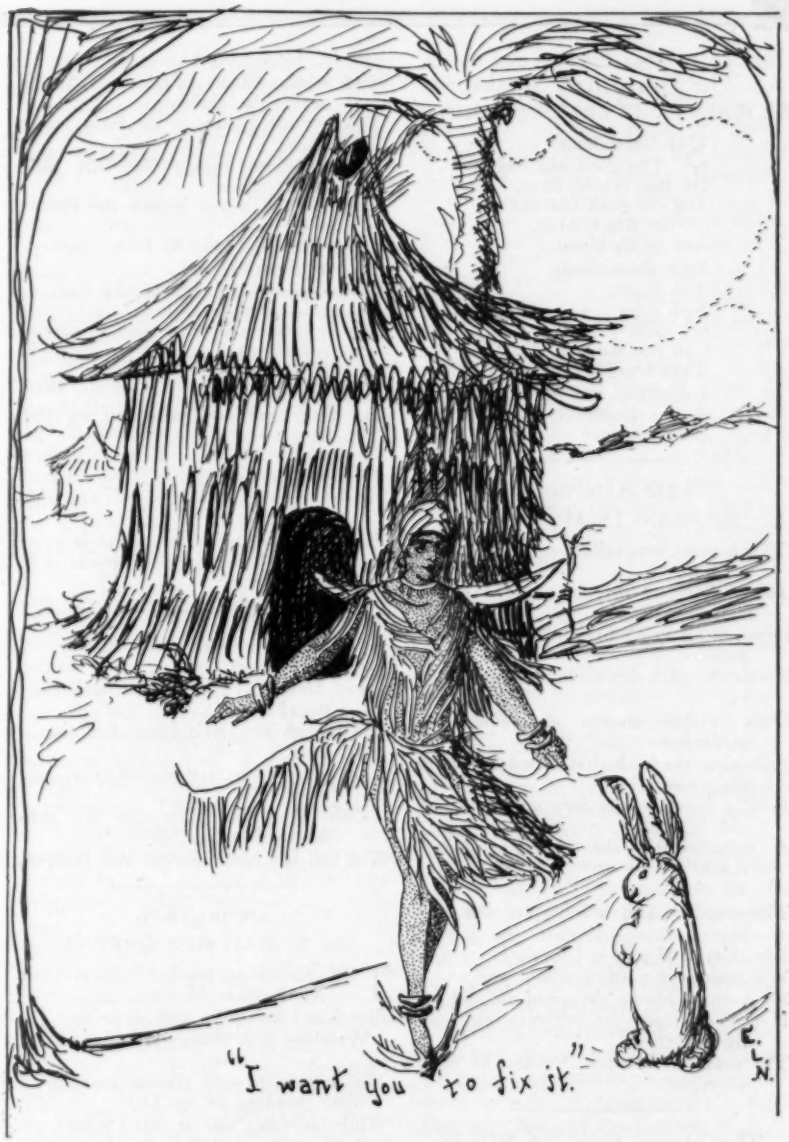
ONCE upon a time it was "hungry time". Everybody was looking for food. Rabbit went into the woods one day and saw a palm tree by the river. He ran up the tree and while he was cutting nuts one fell into the water. He went into the water to find it and there he saw a beautiful town governed by a beautiful fairy.

The fairy asked Rabbit why he came into the town. He answered:

"My palm nut fell into the water and I came to look for it."

The fairy said, "Your palm nut spoiled part of my house and I want you to fix it."

Immediately Rabbit went for sticks and thatch and made the fairy's house just as beautiful as it had been. The fairy told Rabbit to go into her pantry and get one grain of rice and cook it, so he might have a bit of food. When it was cooked the grain of rice filled a big pot. The fairy gave him meat and oil. He ate until he was full and threw some of the rice away.



The fairy gave Rabbit much rice and other things to take home with him. When Rabbit reached home late at night he found his children very hungry. So he cooked food for them at once.

Now Spider lived near Rabbit and Spider's dog wanted to visit at Rabbit's house. Spider did not want him to go. But the dog had smelled the food at Rabbit's house and he went anyway.

Rabbit gave the dog all that he wanted to eat and put some of the food into pans and hung them on the dog's neck. When the dog reached

(*Will you please turn to page* 173)

THE POET'S CORNER

The Gray Man Speaks

By WALTER EVERETT WARING

SINCE I know
The good and bad
Of the White Man,
And the good and bad
Of the Black Man,
And in my blood
Bear the virtues,
And hopes,
And vices
Of each,
Can you wonder
That I must pause,
Uncertain and puzzled,
Before I speak,
Before I act?

Late Afternoon

By FRANCES M. FROST

THE snow was falling softly when she came
To the edge of the slope and saw the blurred grey sky
Reach down to sombre pines. No sumac-flame
Beside the path this time: she snowshoed by
Dark leafless clumps and ghosts of goldenrod,
Following the hush that called her from the wood,
Finding in whiteness deep on leaves and sod
A soundlessness she somehow understood.

The wood seemed waiting for the falling snow,
Breathless and still and lovely in its sure
Welcoming of further white, and so
She found a beauty she could not endure.
Her quick hand shut her eyes out from the sight:
The woods would take the kiss of snow all night.

The Negro Sings of Winds

By GEORGE LEONARD ALLEN

THEY call me! Ah, those never-ceasing winds!
And they have called me through the centuries
From those dim forests where the world begins,
From golden, sun-kissed lands beyond the seas!
Not bitter-breathing winds of ice and sleet,
Not tranquil zephyrs, murmuring soft and low,
But winds whose fierce caress is hot and sweet
With passion pale men's hearts can never know!
Wild winds which whirled and danced across the plains,
Which whistled through the lurid jungle morn,
Which moaned among the hills their eerie strains
Ten thousand years before the Sphinx was born!
Strong winds which bore my fathers' battle-cries,
Which roused their hearts to love, or calmed to peace,—
They call me! and within my spirit rise
Fierce yearnings aye, that cannot, will not cease!

And over countless leagues of swirling sea,
Through all the years, I've heard their wild refrain,
I've known the joy of their weird melody,
The fierce, ecstatic tumult of their pain!
And long as those impetuous winds shall blow,
Though paler men may never feel their surge,
My songs will bear their burden! I shall know
Their fervent, fiery passion and their urge!
And though my spirit from that distant land
A thousand miles, a thousand years may sever,
I know those winds on that far, sun-warmed strand
Will call me back forever and forever!

Democracy

By A. ALOYSIUS GREENE

THE scene: a crowded subway train
At the close of a busy day.
Blue-blood hob-nobs with plebeian,
Wending their homeward way.

The milling, pawing crowds push in,
Some treading on my feet;
While on either side of small brown me,
Remains an empty seat.

Nordic

By LILLIAN BYRNES

HE takes his love much as he takes his wine;
He does not sip or taste,
Or gaze upon its long imprisoned sunshine—
He gulps. .
Men must perforce get drunk;
It is written somewhere.

And having been drunk,
He curses the wine for being red,
The love for being passion,
Ensnaring him.
Sober and repentant and miserable,
He makes resolutions against wine and love;
So that when he indulges in either,
He can fall—
As people ought who so indulge;
And feel as people ought
About it afterward.

Then he is Puritan.

Or he is lusty, male, resplendent,
Knowing that he should sin
On general principles.
He tosses away the empty glass
Insolently;
Satiate and comfortable,
He consigns the harlot, love,
To her fixed domain of the senses—
Then he is the "Great Blond Beast".

To Dr. W. E. B. D.

By ELEANOR HOYSRADT

DARK glittering eyes, Syrian nose, suave, pointed beard—
You resemble a sunburnt Jew,
A Turkish merchant from Constantinople,
An Italian count, a Cuban, or a German diplomat,
Anything but what you are:
A Negro, born in the Berkshire foothills.
You talk most intelligently of Negro pride,
Negro pioneers, Negro poets, Negro problems.
Your two-edged bitterness is enclosed
In a subtle sheath of politeness.
But somewhere in the secret depths of your mind
A voice cries—
For Yolande, the dark princess, your daughter,
Homesick in Paris,
And for the young son, who lies
Beneath the snow, holding communion
With the approaching spring.
"Know your feelings, use your wants."
(Ah, do not weep for them!
The dark princess will be happy with her lover
And he who lies under the snow, has heard
The first groping whispers of the hyacinth roots
And is glad.)

Disillusioned

By ANTONIO JARVIS

WITH stealthy tread the years have crept
Upon my brief impassioned youth;
I live no dreams, but bitter truth;
Who has not found it so—and wept?

THE BROWSING READER

OUR MONTHLY SERMON

WHO determines what Negro artists shall write about? And what white authors shall say about Negroes? The publishers, of course. But who guides the publishers?

Doubtless, publishers know something of the spiritual trends of the times. Doubtless, they assume a certain kind of leadership, but after all, the person who in the long run determines what the publisher shall issue in book form, is the buyer. No, it is not the reader of books. The reader of books in the long run indirectly influences the buying. He guides the buyers, sometimes and somewhat. He talks to his friends and in this way helps the buyer to come to his decision. But the person who buys books is the one who is the real ruler in the situation. It is book buyers that make Octavius Roy Cohen and Carl Van Vechten, just as the book buyers make DuBose Heyward and Claude McKay. They can make others. They can, if they will, bring new editions of all Chesnutt's novels; they can make Jean Toomer break his long silence. They can bring new voices and new souls into the articulate world.

CURRENT BOOKS

"THE Magic Island", by W. C. Seabrook, (Harcourt, Brace and Company), is a story of Haitian life and religion. It is well and interestingly written with freedom of expression and a certain gossipy intimacy. Our readers will like it, because it writes of the Negro with sympathy and with deep understanding of what oppression has meant in the beautiful but unfortunate island which we have raped. The author has no difficulty in envisaging black men and women as human. On the other hand, the book is long drawn-out, and overelaborated. One senses a basis of fact much more meager than 336 pages calls for. Almost, one gets the impression that it would have been better if the book had been compressed to half its size and toned down. It is accompanied, for reasons which only God knows, by distressingly ugly and crude caricatures conceived by Alexander King.

But the book is worth reading and the end is fine. The author has told of the massacre of prominent Haitians and the murder of the President which led to our intervention. He relates how one "grey-haired dapper little colored gentleman," who had lost three grown sons in the massacre, called upon the guilty Commandant afterward. And then the story is:

"I am told that he sent in his card. I am told that Charles Oscar, who was a cruel man but not a coward, entered the drawing-room with a nervous smile. Be those things as they may, the little old gentleman shot him carefully three times through the heart, one bullet for each of his dead sons . . .

"At the precise hour when these events were occurring the American battleship Washington was steaming into the harbor. More than twelve years have passed, and the Americans have been in Haiti continuously ever since. The presence of the Americans has put an end to many things. It has put an end to revolution, mob violence, and many other deplorable conditions which the entire reasonable world agrees should be put an end to. It has also put an end, or if not an end, a period, to more than a century of national freedom of a peculiar sort, which has existed nowhere else on earth save in Liberia—the freedom of a Negro people to govern or misgovern themselves, to stand forth as human beings like any others without cringing or asking leave of any white man. I do not understand these things. But I think I understand something that was in the soul of the little gentleman who called at the Dominican legation, and I hope we haven't put an end to that too."

"Thirteen Days" by Jeannette Marks, (Charles and Albert Boni), is a story of the desperate efforts which liberal America made to save Massachusetts from murdering Sacco and Vanzetti. It is a tense record of the efforts between August 9, 1927 to August 22nd, 1927, to make the dominant American listen to reason and justice. It is worth reading. It makes us who are black realize just the kind of dead reaction we are fighting against in the United States.

"Your long years of torture and your last hours of supreme agony are the living banner under which we and our descendants for generations to come will march to accomplish that better world based on the brotherhood of man for which you died. In your martyrdom we will fight on and conquer."

A symposium, "We Believe in Immortality" has been edited by Sydney Strong and published by Coward-McCann. Some ninety leaders of American life express themselves as believing or not believing in a future life. Five Negro authors are included.

L. G. E. Jones, a lecturer of Oxford University, has been studying Negro schools and has issued a pamphlet, "Negro Schools in the Southern States", (Clarendon Press). It is a hasty ill-considered piece of work. He has visited Hampton, Tuskegee, St. Helena Island, and depended largely upon the Jones Report of Negro colleges issued twelve years ago. The conclusions may not be far from the truth, but the history of the development of Negro education is curiously distorted.

American Negroes ought by all means to read Savel Zimand's "Living India", (Longmans, Green and Company). Mr. Zimand has had wide experience in the problems of oppressed peoples and he has written the kind of book which Negroes will understand, about the greatest race problem of the modern world. One quotation well illustrates both the author and the problem that he is studying.

I remember one day getting into a railway third-class compartment for Indians, not reserved for Europeans. It was only half occupied. I wore my sun hat, and was surprised that no one else tried to enter the carriage, though the rest of the train was, as usual, desperately overcrowded. Travellers took one glance and then hurried off, struggling to squeeze in elsewhere. I asked one of my companions, a Vakil (country lawyer), to explain.

"They are afraid of you," said the Vakil. "They think you are English."

"But", said I, "even if I were English, I could not very well put out of the carriage people who have paid their fares as well as I have".

"That shows", he said, "that you have not been very long in this country, or you would know that the English can do many things here not permitted by law". He added, "If you take your sun hat off, you will look like a Parsee. See what happens".

He was right. As soon as I was bareheaded they came flocking in.

(*Will you please turn to page* 175)

ALONG THE COLOR LINE

EUROPE

¶ On March 6, 1926, the Shakespear Memorial Theater at Stratford-on-Avon, England, was destroyed by fire. The American Shakespeare Foundation is proposing to raise a sum of $1,000,000 to re-build this theater. Mr. James Weldon Johnson is heading a Committee to place a memorial to the great Negro actor, Ira Aldridge, in this theater.

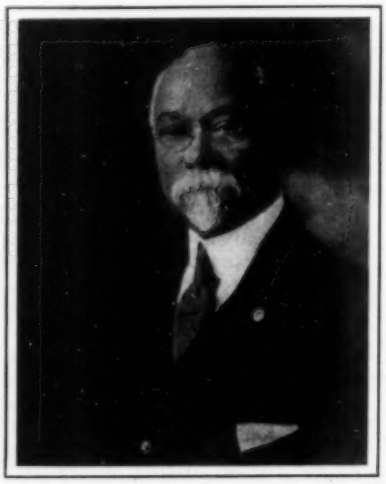
¶ The London Sunday *Express* said in a recent editorial: "The colored races, led by the Negroes of America, are going through a rapid period of transition. In the United States, the Negroes are developing at a surprising rate."

¶ The Spenser-Pryse pictures have been exhibited again in the Alpine Gallery, London. They are striking pictures of black types in Nigeria.

¶ Africa was represented at the British Quadrennial Conference of the Student Christian movement in Liverpool last January. There were two thousand delegates, representing thirty-five countries. Abyssinia, Egypt, Uganda, The Congo, Nigeria, Gold Coast and South Africa had delegates.

¶ Lady Lugard, who wrote the interesting book "A Tropical Dependency" and who was the wife of Lord Lugard, is dead of pneumonia in England. Her maiden name was Flora Shaw.

¶ The Second World Congress of the League Against Imperialism will be held in Paris, July 20, 1929. Mr. William Pickens will represent American Negroes.



Dr. W. H. Johnson.

¶ Tours to Europe which especially invite colored people are those to Russia under the Open Road, and the annual Hampton Institute Tour.

THE EAST

¶ Archibald John Motley, a colored artist of Chicago, has been appointed to a Gugginsheim Fellowship. Eric Walrond has been re-appointed. The scholarships provide for a study abroad and amount to $2,500.

¶ Dr. William H. Johnson, who died recently in New York, was born at Sag Harbor, Long Island, in 1854. He was a descendant of Negroes and Indians. He received his medical degree from the University of Pennsylvania in 1885, and since then has practiced in New York.

¶ At the New Haven Little Theater two Negro plays and a program of spirituals have been given. The plays were written by Mrs. Sara L. Fleming.

¶ Adelaide Hall was born in Brooklyn and made her debut with Sissle and Blake in "Shuffle Along". She played the principal female role in Miller and Lyle's "Runnin' Wild", and in 1924 went abroad and appeared in Germany, Norway and Austria. For some time she played in Chicago, and then signed a five-year contract under Lew Leslie and is now the leading lady in "The Blackbirds of 1928". This latest of colored shows is unusually clean and beautiful, and has been running nearly a year upon Broadway. To all auditors, the center of attraction is Adelaide Hall. In many ways, Miss Hall is the successor of Florence Mills.

¶ The New York Chapter of the Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority has awarded its 8th Scholarship of $150 to Miss Eunice Jackson of Brooklyn. Miss Jackson is majoring in Mathematics at Hunter College.

Conference on Character Education in Colleges, Page 166.

¶ Lincoln University, Pennsylvania, has raised $193,000 for its Endowment Fund, of which the Alumni have subscribed $50,000.

¶ The American Fund for Public Service, known as the Garland Fund, has distributed and pledged nearly two million dollars from the endowment and increase in value of the securities given. The Fund was given in 1922 and Mr. Garland wished that the capital as well as the interest should be disposed of as rapidly as possible.

¶ The enterprises to which the Garland Fund has most heavily contributed in the six years, have been in the order of gifts: workers' education $240,000, labor and radical newspapers and periodicals $220,000, publication of books and pamphlets $168,000, research in economics and labor $127,000, educational propaganda covering various publicity campaigns $76,000, Negro labor and civil rights agencies $65,000, legal defense in labor and civil liberty cases $60,000, experimental education for children $48,000, strike relief and publicity $37,000, workers' health (investigation and reports) $36,000, civil liberty campaigns and minor cases $35,000.

THE BORDER STATES

¶ Mrs. Susan Brooks, wife of Bishop W. Sampson Brooks, is dead at Baltimore.

¶ Dr. Frank J. Grimke, who has been Pastor of the 15th Street Presbyterian Church, Washington, for thirty-seven years, has just issued "My Last Quadrennial Message to the Race".

¶ A Bill to repeal the State "Jim Crow" Car Law in Maryland has been favorably reported but probably will not pass. A similar bill was killed last year.

¶ Will Myles, a colored taximan of Louisville, Kentucky, has bought ten new Dodge cars. He is competing with the Yellow Taxi which used to refuse to carry colored passengers.

¶ Samuel Coleridge Taylor's cantata "Hiawatha" has been given by the Samuel Coleridge Taylor Choral Society at Washington, under the direction of Alfred H. Johnson.

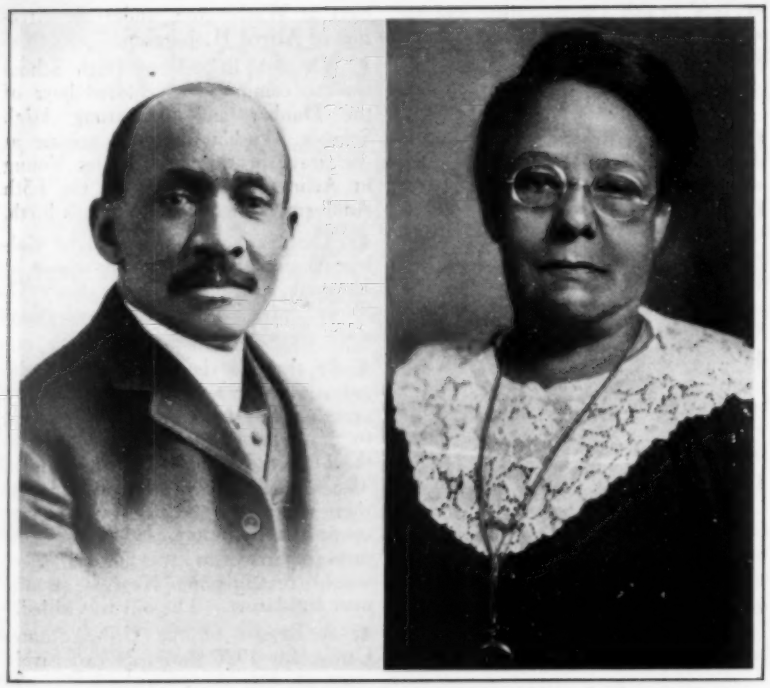
¶ The 9th Brigade of High School Cadets, comprised of colored boys of the Dunbar and Armstrong High Schools, Washington, paid tribute at the grave of Colonel Charles Young in Arlington Cemetery on the 65th Anniversary of Colonel Young's birth.

¶ The National Association of College Women held a two-day session at Howard University. Dean Lucy D. Slowe presided. Ten institutions were represented.

¶ In the Maryland House of Delegates, a measure has been proposed to gerrymander the fourth district so as to draw more Democratic votes into the District which is now Republican. The advocate of the measure said that there were two Negroes in the city council of Baltimore, and unless some measure like this was passed there would certainly be Negroes in the next legislature. The bill was killed.

¶ A Report of the United States Census for 1926 shows 24 exclusively

The Great Assembly Hall in the Jesse Binga Arcade, Chicago.



Mr. and Mrs. Louis A. Hamilton, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, who have celebrated their 50th Wedding Anniversary.

colored religious denominations with 36,505 churches and 4,558,798 members. There are also 6080 churches with 644,692 colored members in thirty white organizations. The total annual expenditures for Negro churches are $42,024,259. Expenditures in 1916, were $18,529,827.

¶ The West Virginia Legislature at its last session authorized the state to pay the tution of Negro students studying in professional or graduate schools outside of the state. It equalized the salaries of white and Negro teachers in all the public schools of West Virginia, and changed the name of the West Virginia Collegiate Institute to West Virginia State College. The appropriations for Negro State Educational institutions for the two years, beginning July, 1929, included $600,000 for the West Virginia State College, $289,000 for Bluefield Colored Institute, $35,000 for Storer College, and $109,000 for the West Virginia School for the Deaf and Blind. Credit for much of this work should go to T. Edward Hill, colored member of the Legislature and W. W. Sanders, State Supervisor of Negro schools.

¶ R. Nathaniel Dett's choir from Hampton Institute gave a most successful concert in Symphony Hall, Boston. There were sixty singers, and the program included 15th and 16th Century church music, modern Russian anthems, church music by American composers, including Mr. Dett, and Negro melodies. The *Boston Globe* says that no chorus in recent years "has sung with subtler or finer artistry. . . . This chorus, like Roland Hayes, must be judged with no thought of race distinctions; it can take rank of right among the leading choruses of the world."

¶ Twenty-four representatives from eight of the principal Negro church denominations met at Howard University in March to consider and recommend plans of co-operation. They proposed to found a National Co-operative Committee of Negro churches. Dr. A. N. Townsend was Chairman and Dr. George E. Haynes, Secretary.

THE MIDDLE WEST

¶ The "Full Crew" Law is now proposed in Illinois. This law, which is enforced in many states, is an effort by members of the white Railway Unions to force Negro porters and workers out of the service of the railways. It requires brakeman and flagman in each minimum crew, and as Negroes cannot join either of these

The National European-Bantu Conference at Capetown, Page 178.

L. K. Atwood, Page 166.

unions, they would be automatically eliminated.

¶ The late municipal election in Chicago resulted in the re-election of Daniel M. Jackson and Lewis B. Anderson, colored candidates as Aldermen. Edward H. Wright, the veteran leader, supported Earl Dickerson, a young colored Democrat and a fine type of man. Dickerson made an unusually good run.

¶ The Association of the South Side Life Insurance Companies held its Second Annual Meeting in Chicago. Six colored insurance companies were represented. The chief speech of the evening was by Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, who spoke on "The History and Meaning of Life Insurance".

¶ Charles F. Williams, colored mail carrier of Kalamazoo, Michigan, was recently given a $100 watch as the most popular carrier. There are fifty white carriers. Mr. Williams was born in Georgia; educated at Tuskegee, and served in the A. E. F. He has been in the Post Office for nine years. He is married and has four children.

¶ The Northeastern Life Insurance Company, with President H. H. Pace, the Supreme Life and Casualty Company, with President T. K. Gibson, and the Liberty Life Insurance Company, with President M. O. Bousfield, are merging into one company, to be known as the Supreme Liberty Life Insurance Company. This Company will have a combined capital of $400,000. Mr. Pace will be President of the new company, Mr. Gibson, Chairman of the Board, and Dr. Bousfield, First Vice-President. The headquarters will be in Chicago.

¶ Miss Malinda J. Stevenson celebrated her 100th Anniversary at the Home for Aged Colored People in Cleveland. She baked the wedding cake for Thomas Edison and his bride.

¶ At a mid-Western Basketball tournament participated in by teams from State Schools for the Deaf from Indiana, Wisconsin, Michigan, Illinois, Kentucky and Ohio at the State School for the Deaf, Columbus, Ohio, Herschel Level, colored guard of the Ohio quintet, was adjudged by the tournamentt officials as the best sportsman. The National Association for the Deaf, however, is very far from being a good "sportsman" as at its last meeting it barred the colored deaf from membership!

THE NORTH WEST

¶ In Minneapolis, a colored woman, critically ill, was carried to the Thomas Hospital. She lay in the receiving room in agony while the authorities were debating the advisability of receiving a colored patient. Finally, she was sent to the General Hospital, where she died before aid could be given.

¶ For the second consecutive year, Ophelia Canty, a colored student at the South High School, Minneapolis, has won the annual music competition contest at the school. Last year she also stood second in the All-City finals.

THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY

¶ In Memphis, a colored woman sat down in a seat beside a white woman on a street-car. A row ensued and a white man was cut by the colored woman. The Railway was sued by all three and does not know which case to defend.

¶ Gulf Side, Mississippi is a summer resort on the Gulf of Mexico established by Bishop R. E. Jones of the M. E. Church. It is practically the only place on the Gulf where a

Miss Adelaide Hall, Page 162.

colored person can bathe in the ocean. The Rosenwald Fund is said to be interested in its further development.

¶ A Conference on Character Education in Colleges was held at Fisk University in March. Ninety delegates from thirty-eight educational institutions attended, representing eleven states. Compulsory attendance at religious services, religious worship, the religious curriculum, and other matters of the sort were discussed. Among the speakers were: Dr. A. M. May of Yale, F. L. Brownlee of the American Missionary Association, and Mr. C. H. Tobias of the National Y. M. C. A. The Conference decided that students are dissatisfied with the religious agencies in schools; they think that there is too much compulsion and regulation; too many empty religious forms, and that the present program fails to develop intelligent and effective religious life. A Continuation Committee was elected to carry on further research.

¶ Otto L. Bohannan is Director of Music of the new Vashon High School, St. Louis. He obtained his Master's Degree in Music from Columbia University and recently gave a song recital under the auspices of the Omega Psi Phi Fraternity.

¶ Attorney Louis Kossuth Atwood, known throughout the country as Judge Atwood, died recently at his home in Jackson, Miss. He was in his seventy-eighth year. He was a recognized leader for over forty years. During Reconstruction days Judge Atwood was a member of the legislature and a deputy revenue collector. He was a banker and an outstanding figure in fraternal life.

¶ The 15th Annual Session of the Association of Colleges for Negro Youth was held in March at Knoxville College. Dean D. O. W. Holmes of Howard University was elected President, and Dean J. T. Cater of Talladega was made Secretary-Treasurer for the 9th time. Seventeen colleges were represented.

Samuel J. Forster, Page 178.

TRANS-MISSISSIPPI

¶ The House Appropriations Committee of the Missouri State Legislature has given Lincoln University $555,000, of which $250,000 is for a new building.

¶ Two colored teachers, Miss Leona Palmer and Miss Madeline Dixon, have been appointed practice teachers in the public schools of Des Moines, Iowa, where there are no separate schools.

¶ Among the twenty-five students elected to the University of Kansas Chapter of the Phi Beta Kappa, was Miss Zatella Turner, a colored girl who is completing her course in three years. She belongs to the Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority.

¶ The C. J. Walker Manufacturing Company, through its Attorney, F. D. Ransom, has given two motorcars to Mrs. Ethel Whitely of Kansas City and Mrs. Pearl Gambrell of Tulsa, Oklahoma, for excellence in salesmanship.

¶ Ira DeA. Reid, of the Research Department of the National Urban League, is making during April a survey of economic conditions of Negroes in Denver. The survey is being made with the co-operation of the Chamber of Commerce, the Department of Sociology of Denver University, and a Citizen's Committee.

THE SOUTH EAST

¶ An Educational Survey Commission in Florida, appointed by the Legislature in 1927, has recommended that the Superintendent of Education be appointed instead of elected, and that the Constitution be amended, "Making it the duty of the Legislature to provide as liberal an education as is possible for all children irrespective of sex or color."

¶ Attorney W. F. Denny, a noted colored criminal lawyer of Virginia, is dead at Richmond at the age of 52. He was born in Georgia and educated at Talladega and Atlanta University. Afterward, he studied law at Howard University and has successfully conducted many notable cases.

¶ From Atlanta comes the interesting news that Atlanta University, Spelman and Morehouse, are about to unite in one great University. Atlanta University, under the Presidency of John Hope, will become the Graduate and Professional School, while Morehouse will become the College for Men, and Spelman the College for Women. Morehouse and Spelman will retain their present organization, and each will appoint three trustees for Atlanta University. Three of the present trustees will be retained and five at large will be elected. The nine trustees from the three institutions are: Mrs. Alice Coleman, William Travers Jerome, Jr., James N. Nabrit, Kendell Weissiger, James Weldon John-

(*Will you please turn to page* 176)

The new Meharry Medical School, Nashville, Tennessee, Page 177.

Postscript
by W. E. B. DuBois

HOOVER AND THE SOUTH

HERBERT HOOVER has started something. We very much doubt if he understands the ramifications of his late declaration. His statement is that Republican Presidents for many years have tried to build up state Republican organizations in the Southern states; that this Southern Republican Party must "commend itself to the citizens of those states"; that the basis of sound government is a strong two-party representation; that there must be no sectionalism in politics; and that the re-organization must come "from the states themselves".

He then lists the states: North Carolina and Virginia have a Republican Party. Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, Texas and Florida are strengthening the Republican Party, and Mr. Hoover commends the movement. He puts Mississippi, South Carolina, Georgia and Florida on the black list, and says nothing about Tennessee.

All this is singularly contradictory. By law, social and economic pressure, the formation of a real Republican Party has been resisted by the Solid South for a generation. The only movement which they have been willing to admit has been the forming of a white Republican Party, and it is this "Lily White" movement which is triumphing in everyone of the states which Mr. Hoover praises. Negroes have kept their hold in Mississippi, Georgia and Tennessee. And two of these states, Mr. Hoover, roundly condemns.

Very good. Does President Hoover include black citizens among those whose judgment must "commend" the re-organization? If the Perry Howard and Ben Davis type of political morality does not suit him, does he not know a single decent Negro citizen in Georgia and Mississippi who can be trusted? And when re-organization must come from the states themselves, does this dominating local opinion include poor black laborers or only rich white bankers?

As a practical measure, suppose a Republican Party under white leadership and control grows up in the Southern states? On whom must it depend for votes? Manifestedly, on Negroes. Why should Negroes vote for "Lily Whites" in preference to voting for Bourbon Democrats? They must be offered something: offices, better schools, better living conditions, abolition of "Jim Crow" cars. Something! If the Democrats and "Lily Whites" compete for the Negro vote, then only patience and brains are needed to bring Negro office holders and Negro suffrage. If neither party offers anything, the new Republican Party can never exist, because it will be without votes. Even if its Federal patronage attracts any considerable body of votes from the white Democratic Party, the white Democrats can retaliate by inviting in the Negro voters, which is precisely what has happened in Tennessee. In this case, the Republicans, in self-defense, have got to submit at least to a partial Negro leadership, and Robert R. Church of Tennessee maintains his position with the benediction of the President.

Very well, an excellent program, says the country. But what does the Solid South say? The corrupt and ruthless hierarchy of Vardaman, Blease and Harrison who have made democracy in the United States impossible because of its rotten boroughs? These leaders are the ones and not the Negroes who are angry beyond expression at this blow at white supremacy which Herbert Hoover has aimed at black men's heads.

THE CHICAGO DEBATE

THERE was held in the Coliseum in Chicago in March a debate between Lothrop Stoddard and the Editor of THE CRISIS on the question "Should the Negro be Encouraged to Seek Cultural Equality?" The debate was notable; first, because of the popular interest which it aroused. Every one of the four thousand seats was taken and several hundred persons were unable to gain entrance. Probably one-third or more of the audience was white. Secondly, one noted the apparent disinclination of Mr. Stoddard frankly to state his position. This is symptomatic of a widespread change in the attitude of white Americans. It is becoming more and more difficult for them to state frankly the case against the Negro. The reason for this is that the main facts upon which they have been relying are no longer plausible and the thesis without them is barbarous, unscientific and unchristian.

The Editor asked Mr. Stoddard in the debate: "Why should not all people be encouraged to seek and reach the highest human culture?" And he intimated that the only plausible reason for denying them this privilege was the assumption that their inferiority was so great that they could never hope to reach the goal and would simply be made unhappy by striving.

The obvious answer to this would be to say Yes and then to prove this inferiority of the Negro. This, Mr. Stoddard did not do and did not attempt to do. The reason probably was that he realized that such attempted proof would not only lose him the sympathy of his black audience, but gain no particular enthusiasm from a thousand whites who themselves belonged mostly to laboring classes just as "inferior" to Mr. Stoddard's Nordic superman as the average American Negro.

Mr. Stoddard, therefore, took refuge in two contentions: That differences between races should be maintained by a "bi-racial" arrangement, and that the social equality which would follow cultural equality could not be countenanced. The Editor's rejoinder was that "Bi-racialism" could not and would not work in a modern world where the whites themselves had been foremost in breaking down race barriers; and that social equality was civilized, inevitable and desirable among social equals, and not compulsory among others.

It was an interesting occasion; but the white man's presentation of his side of the controversy was much weaker than it need have been. On the other hand, if it had been stronger, it would have been a public confession of a determination to stop human progress. This is what the present dominant majority of white folk propose to do. But naturally they do not care to say so, openly, publicly and plainly.

MISSIONARIES

THERE is a curious attitude on the part of religion in the United States and Europe toward American Negro missionaries. It is a little difficult to get at all the facts, but a questionnaire sent out among various missionary organizations reveals the following apparent situation:

One of 158 African missionaries, the Protestant Episcopal Church has 1 American Negro; the Presbyterian, 2 out of 88; the Northern Baptists, 1 out of 20; the Methodist Episcopal Church, 5 out of 91; the American Board, 4 out of 97.

Of 793 other missionaries to Africa sent out by American missionary societies, including the United Presbyterians, the United Missionary Society, the United Brethren, the African Inland Mission, the Friends, the Brethren-in-Christ, the Southern Baptists, the Women's General Mission Society of the United Presbyterian Church, the Lutherans, and the Sudan Interior Mission, there is not a single American Negro!

It would seem at first thought that the use of American Negroes to evangelize Africa would be not only a logical but singularly poetic and satisfying result of American slavery. Indeed, for centuries it was the main justification for that slavery on the consciences and lips of Christians.

But careful inquiry among missionary societies reveals today an astonishing state of mind. For instance, in the case of the African Inland Mission: "The question has never been raised." The United Missionary Society says: "The matter has not come before the Board." The Foreign Missionary Society of the United Brethren-in-Christ has "not made it a practice to send out American Negroes"; the American Friends Board of Foreign Missions has "never formulated any policy concerning the sending to Africa of American Negroes as missionaries"; the Foreign Mission Board of the Brethren-in-Christ, "have not had any applicants"; the Women's General Missionary Society of the United Presbyterian Church has "never discussed the matter"; the Missionary Society of the Evangelical Church has "no policy"!

On the other hand, the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention is frank: *"Our policy is not to send American Negroes as missionaries";* also, the Sudan Interior Mission has a policy, and states it plainly: "Our brethren from the American Negro churches practically have to live on the same plane almost as their white brethren, and this *creates a problem";* the American Bible Society scents some trouble and hastens to say: "I presume your inquiry is evoked by some thought that there may be racial discrimination asserted by the missionary agencies of the churches selecting missionaries. I have been more or less closely associated with missionary work in the last ten years and have never known of such a case." Thus writes Mr. Eric North, who evidently does not dwell on earth but in a Heaven of his own.

Most of the missionary societies who try to apologize for their discrimination seek to explain their stand by saying that they are training "native" helpers. Certainly, this should be true. But why not use American Negroes as the obvious instruments for such training? The Presbyterian Church began sending Negro missionaries and then stopped. Only this year have they finally been induced to send two. The American Baptist Foreign Mission Society tries to put the whole onus upon Negro churches, and declares that "no qualified Negro applicants" have applied in recent years. If they should apply, the Society does not promise to send them, but only to give the matter "most careful consideration". The Women's General Missionary Society of the United Presbyterian Church says that "no action for or against the sending of Negroes to work as missionaries in Africa has been taken. *I can see complications that might be unpleasant and hard to surmount."* The Friends and others also admit the fact that several foreign governments, and especially the Belgian Congo, object to American Negroes.

As a matter of fact, missionary societies of the United States started out, for the most part, with the obvious policy of sending Negroes to convert Africa. Then they found out that this involved social equality between white and black missionaries; the paying of Negro missionaries on the same scale as white missionaries, and their promotion and treatment as civilized beings. With few exceptions, American white Christianity could not stand this, and they consequently changed their policy. Several of them stopped sending Negroes, altogether. Others tried to get their assistance from the natives, where discrimination in treatment and wages could be made without complaint; while still others intimated, as the American Baptist Foreign Missionary Society puts it: "The failure of quite a proportion to live up to their all important moral obligations has necessarily been a serious consideration", which is a chaste way of saying that American Negroes are too immoral to convert Africans to the kind of Christianity which this Society has for sale.

OPTIMISM

NOTHING is more dangerous than unintelligent optimism; childish faith in the triumph of good; the "God's-in-His-Heaven" attitude, assumed because one is too lazy to be worried. On the other hand, the worst moral dyspepsia must face facts; and looking back on the history of the Negro race in America for the last few years one cannot help feeling a sense of tremendous encouragement.

The legal defense of black men instead of being sporadic and occasional is taking definite, determined form and it is becoming increasingly difficult to cheat and oppress and mob colored people simply because they are colored.

But this, after all, is merely negative. Yet on the positive side there is even greater cause for self-congratulation. There is a new self-assertion which is not merely empty impudence. Quietly and unswervingly Negroes have laid down the law that their higher institutions of learning can no longer be run regardless of colored folk's ideals and desires. Again Negroes have begun to undertake their own self interpretation and are no longer content merely to sit by, smiling delightedly, when some white outsider carelessly evaluates their history, their song, their hopes, their personal appearance.

Following a rather sudden, almost hysterical renaissance of art among them, there is slowly coming a determined Will-to-Create. Self-expression wells up among us even though it is not all of the highest order, and often lacks careful finish; it is nevertheless a true and sincere mirroring of new souls and valuable because of its sincerity and newness.

In the economic field one senses in every part of the country, better home life, larger incomes and more careful spending. The old ideal of imitating the extravagance of rich whites has not altogether passed but it is evidently passing. One finds little homes of cultured colored folk who are quite willing to admit that they are living on one hundred dollars a month and really living. Children are crowding into high schools and colleges not simply because it is the thing to do but because their parents are getting clear ideas of just what education is for. There is a small new army of colored artisans who know the technique of their work and of the labor movement. And finallly, in the dull brain of white America it is beginning to become clearly evident that the most virile future force in this land, certainly in art, probably in economics and possibly in science is the Negro.

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Beyond the Color Line

(*Continued from page* 153)

loathing the line, but not able to cross it or blot it out.

FOR many years I had been going to hear the students at Hampton Institute sing Negro spirituals. Like a great ocean, the song reached out and up and on, carrying us all alike into vast spaces, holding us close to the tragedy and beauty and longing of life. And for a few minutes I knew spiritual unity with this people.

But, the song over, and the meeting dispersed, I found myself a stranger among strangers.

So here was the problem: How to translate into everyday actions the truth which art revealed?

RUTH GORDON was my first Negro friend. A northern woman who had come south to teach among her own people, she was serving as chairman of the colored branch of the Y. W. C. A. Manned with a little sociological theory and Christian philosophy, I had returned south in Y. W. C. A. industrial work, determined among other things to find a way out in inter-racial relationships.

But ours was a friendship shadowed by the color line.

We never met, except in her or my office. Once or twice after work I walked home with her, through the Negro section of town. By tacit agreement we avoided the white sections. Curious eyes followed us. . . . We parted at her door. She never asked me in, though I think she wanted to. And I longed to enter. To be treated as one of them, not as an alien, member of a despised and feared race. To give and receive such natural comradeship as Bob and I had known as children.

Ruth sensed this, I think, and did what she could. But we were still bound. Caste-bound. Each clutching at the line, but not ready to defy it and the world that placed it there. For we had been trained to believe that the way lay through Peace and Persuasion, Law and Order, and the all-power of Love. Through "changing men's hearts", one by one. Then social relations would right themselves.

Finally for me there was no going on. The theory simply did not work. The system was stronger than individuals. Everywhere it pointed at me its accusing finger. Class system. Caste system. "Poor Whites". Negroes. Man exploiting man. And all the while talking Brotherhood and Democracy. It seemed but a clever hoax.

Perhaps the solution depended on

changing the system itself?

So I rebelled. Resigned my job, and plunged into industry.

Life as a wage-earner in a Philadelphia clothing shop brought the answers I had been seeking. In our shop there were many nationalities: Italians, Germans, Russians, and Jews, and colored as well as white. But among us it made no difference. We were all workers, bound together in one great movement. Comrades and equals.

It was a union shop and as we worked we sang above the roar of the machines, the labor songs of Italy, Russia or Germany, and sometimes a colored work song which Dabney had taught us. Dabney, our shop chairman and the most popular man in the plant, was a Negro.

In the evenings after work, when there was no union meeting or labor gathering, DuBois, Marx and Lenin awaited my eager search.

Here at last was a direction and meaning to life. A freedom to be fought for and won, black and white together.

A FEW weeks ago, two of us sat planning the details of an organizing campaign among white and colored workers in the south. We discussed at length the racial prejudices and customs of both groups, and ways of coping with them. And though one of us happened to be white of skin and one of us dark, neither remembered or cared about this fact. We were simply workers in a common cause.

The last time I was south I went again to hear the Hampton students sing. Once more I sat in the gallery where the music rises up and engulfs one in its flow and depths. Once more I was swept on and out into the spiritual passion of this people.

But now there was a difference. Now in the song there was more than pathos and yearning. More than the cry of an exploited race. There was promise. Promise of a time when this toiling people would march shoulder to shoulder with their white comrades and fellow-workers, beyond the color line, in labor and struggle for a new world.

The Negro Citizen

(*Continued from page* 156)

offices by black Republicans in the South; but offices from the highest to the lowest have been regularly sold by white Republicans and white Democrats in the South and are being sold today.

And yet, of all this, there must be no criticism, no exposure, no real investigation, no political revolt, because the

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decent white South lacks the moral courage to expose and punish rascals even though they are white and to stand up for democracy even if it includes black folk.

I yield to no man in my admiration for what the new young South is doing in liberalizing race relations and humanizing thought, but I maintain that until the liberal white south has the guts to stand up for democracy regardless of race there will be no solution of the Negro problem and no solution of the problem of popular government in America. You cannot build bricks of molasses.

Nor is this all. Because of the rotten boroughs of the South, real Democratic government is impossible in the North. The Democratic Party cannot become a liberal body because the bulk of its support depends upon disfranchisement, caste and race hate in the South. It depends on minimizing participation in politics by all people, black and white, and stifling of discussion. It is the only part of the nation where the woman suffrage amendment is largely ignored and yet the white women do not dare to open their mouths to protest.

So long as this party holds this grip on 114 electoral votes despite argument, with no reference to dominant political questions and with no reference to the way in which votes are actually cast, this party cannot be displaced by a Third Party. With no Third Party corrective for a discredited minority, democratic government becomes simply impossible without something resembling revolution.

RECENT ELECTIONS

WHEN in 1912 Roosevelt tried to appeal to liberal thought in the United States against the reactionary Republicans and the bourbon Democrats, he only succeeded in putting the Democrats in power. When La Follette tried to do the same thing in 1924, he simply scared the country into larger reaction, since they realized that they had to choose between bourbon Democracy and organized privilege.

In 1928, we had an extraordinary spectacle. It is too well-known for me to comment. I only remind the reader that the right of Southern white men to vote as they wished on public questions was openly and vehemently denied and the right of dominant political cliques holding their power by disfranchising four million white and black voters, to make their own election returns as to the vote cast, without state or national investigation or inquiry, was successfully maintained. This is the only modern nation in the world which does not control its own elections.

THE FUTURE

HOW is all this going to be remedied? How are we going to restore normal democracy in the United States? It is not a question of the millennium; of being able through democratic Government to do everything immediately. But it is a question, and a grave and insistent question, whether the United States of America is going to maintain or surrender democracy as the fundamental starting point of permanent human uplift. If democracy is still our corner stone, must it be smashed because of twelve million Negroes? Better cut their throats quickly and build on.

On the other hand, if Democracy fails in the United States, and fails because of our attitude toward a darker people, what about Democracy in the world, and particularly in India, in China, in Japan and in Egypt? We have got a chance today, and an unrivaled chance, again to rescue and guide the world, as we did at the end of the 18th Century. And we have the same kind of dilemma.

In those days when we started to build a nation of equal citizens, Negro slavery could have been abolished; its abolition was begun even in the South; but the respectable people, the smug people, sat down before it and organized the American Colonization Society, which was the interracial movement of that day; and instead of fighting evil they were content to congratulate themselves on the good already accomplished. In the long run, they did less than nothing.

So today it is fortunate that people can sit down at Interracial Conferences and find so much to congratulate themselves about in the improved relation between races, and the increased knowledge which they have of each other. But all of this is going to be of no avail in the crisis approaching unless we take advantage of the present desire for knowledge and willingness to study and willingness to listen, and attack the main problem which is and has been the question of political power for the Negro citizens of the United States.

I do not for a moment minimize the difficulty of inaugurating in a land but a generation removed from slavery, of universal suffrage which includes children of slaves. It is extraordinarily difficult and calls for patience and tolerance. But my point is that the sooner we face the goal the quicker we will reach it. We are not going to make democracy in the South possible by admitting its impossibility and refus-

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ing to study and discuss the facts. Let us first of all say, and broadcast the fact, that all Americans of adult age and sufficient character and intelligence must vote and that any interference with or postponement of this realization is a danger to every other American—a danger to be attacked now and continuously and with dogged determination with a clear avowal of intention by every open-minded man.

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Savage or Serene

(*Continued from page* 157)

That lay their eggs, and sting and sing,
And weave their petty cells and die."

Majestically sad and fatal, like the chastened music to which some doomed army marches, is this advance through frustration and obscurity to death. Yet, if our clearest aims and highest impulses are encompassed by the imperceptible net of our own natures, we know at least the consciousness of battle. Still we are valiant, and life touches for brief moments the divine. Some few, by starts, renew the ancient war against themselves, work to give form and dignity to the savage and cheap filling of their lives. One may half escape the fatal antiquity of his nature by the indomitable sacrifice of a father. Out of the pain of desire, a woman finds, perchance, the awe of motherhood. From wrath and carnage, some purging *Iliad;* from the bitter sensuality of slavery, songs with something of the fortitude of religion:

"Like a tree planted by the water,
I shall not be moved."

The Little Page

(*Continued from page* 159)

home, Spider beat him severely. But when he noticed that something was tied about his neck he asked his chil-

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dren to make a fire so that he could see what it was. Spider grabbed the pans and ate everything.

That same night he went to Rabbit's house and inquired where he found the food. Rabbit told him all about the palm tree and his trip to the fairy's house. In the morning Spider went to cut palm nuts.

He took them and threw them into the water so that he might break the fairy's house too. At once he went into the water and met the fairy. She asked him why he was there.

"Oh," said Spider, "it's hungry time. I was looking for palm nuts and some fell into the water. I came to look for them."

The fairy said, "Your nuts broke my house. Please fix it."

Spider answered, "I don't care about your house. Only give me something to eat."

The fairy said, "Get a grain of rice and cook it."

Spider took two big panfuls of rice. When he had cooked it there was only one grain. Spider was angry. He ate the one grain but was not satisfied. He attempted to take some more rice from the fairy's bag. But as soon as he touched it it became empty. And he found himself floating in the river. He went home to his children empty handed.

Watching

THEY often send me to the store,
And let me go alone,
Yet peep and watch till I get back,
Just why, I've never known.

If they're afraid I might get lost,
Why do they send me then,
And peep from windows and front doors
Till I get back again?
They ought to trust a child of four
To run right to the grocery store.

When they themselves go to the store
No one looks out to see.
Nobody ever watches then,
Excepting only me,
And I just watch grown folks because
They're always playing Santa Claus.

Thanks to the Barberries

BARBERRIES red, through the white snows
You swung on your little bough.
Since spring and bluebirds are back again,
Barberries, I thank you now.
You and the rose pips,
Scarlet and bold,
Swung as gay lanterns
All through the cold.

Call

THROW open the box,
Shake out everything
That's been locked inside
To wait for the spring—

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The blooms with blue eyes,
The pink buds and red ones
That blush like sunrise.

Swing gold cocoons open.
Let moths mauve and blue
Spread out their wings proudly
And softly pass through.
Then mull every fragrance,
The lilac, the mint,
The fruit blossom perfumes,
The violet's faint hint,
And toss them to waver
With mists of the spring
Till even the soft dove
Shall wake up and sing.

Flute

IF you knew the dew
Was piping to you
In its little cold strain,
Would you wake up again,
Roses wan,
And catch joy at sunrise
From the scarlet stained skies
Till you glowed as the dawn?

The Browsing Reader

(*Continued from page* 161)

my hat on again and no one else entered. I tried this several times, and it worked.

A trifling incident, you will say, and perhaps rightly. But multiply it, see similar things happening every day and hour, year in and year out for generations, and you begin to understand why so many in India, of all castes and races, are today so irritated and exasperated by British rule.

Lajpat Rai is dead, a martyr to British intolerance; but before he died, he published a reply to Katherine Mayo's "Mother India", which was a fine and worthy defense of a great people. Lajpat Rai understood and wrote about the Negro problem in America and his book "Unhappy India" is teaming with facts and unanswerable arguments.

D. D. T. Jabavu's "The Segregation Fallacy and Other Papers", comes to us from South Africa, (Lovedale Institution Press). Mr. Jabavu is a leader of South African Natives,—a very conservative and religious leader, but honest and sincere withal, and a man of education. His little book is "a native view of some South African inter-racial problems". And he asks, a bit timidly and yet clearly:

"Young educated Africa appeals for sympathy with her legitimate aspirations towards religious autonomy; for the dissemination of liberal views in press, pulpit and platform on the right of the Bantu to a happy future in the land of their birth; for protection in the settlement of land questions so inseparably bound up with the principles of religion; for the inculcation of Christian principles on Native affairs in white homes, schools, farms, towns, or clubs; for the kind of life that Jesus would have led had he lived as a white man today in South Africa."

Roark Bradford's "This Side of Jordan", (Harper and Brothers), is pure rot.

IN THE MAGAZINES

The January *Living Age* has an article by Oliver McKee, Jr., on Ras Taffari, the "Conquering Lion of Judah".

Herbert Seligmann writes in the January *Current History* on "Twenty Years of Negro Progress". He notes especially the work of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

In the January number of the *International Journal of Ethics*, E. Torday discusses the "Morality of African Races", and says that white domination is the cause of most present moral delinquencies.

The *Nation*, January 9th, discusses the color line in Cuba in an article by Arnold Roller, "Black Ivory and White Gold in Cuba"; also, an article by Walter White is on the National Inter-racial Conference in Washington. January 16th, the *Nation* discusses lynching, in "Shame to Mississippi".

The *Survey* for January 15th has an article by Alain Locke, "North and South", on the Washington National Inter-racial Conference.

Education for February has "The Negro Child's Interest in Writing Poetry", by H. C. Lehman and P. A. Witter.

James Weldon Johnson writes in the February *Mentor* on "Negro Folk Songs and Spirituals".

The *World Tomorrow* for February has an article on "Jesus and Race Superiority", by Devere Allen.

Scribner's for March has the first part of "The Autobiography of an African Savage". It is written by a stolen Bushman, Bata K. Ibn La-Bagola.

H. W. Morrow writes on "I Learned About God From a Negress" in the March *Cosmopolitan*.

Mary an Kleek writes in the *American City* on the "Negro As a Municipal Problem". She advocates inter-racial conferences.

Benjamin Brawley writes in the *English Journal* for March on the "Negro Contemporary Literature".

Lord Olivier writes in the March *Edinburgh Review* on "The Progress of a Negro Peasantry".

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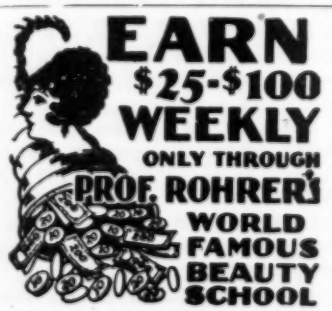

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69 FIFTH AVE. NEW YORK CITY

An unreconstructed Southerner, Pierre Crabites, writes in the March *North American Review* defending and advocating the "Solid South".

Albon L. Holsey writes in the *American Mercury* for March on "Learning How to be Black". It is a story of the growth of color consciousness in colored children.

The Color Line

(*Continued from page* 166)

son, Dean Sage, W. W. Alexander, and the President of Spelman and Morehouse. For the present, Mr. Hope will remain President of Morehouse as well as of the new Graduate School.

¶ Ohio Hall, a new Boy's Dormitory, costing $85,000 is nearly completed, at the Fort Valley High and Industrial School, Fort Valley, Georgia.

¶ At a book exhibition carried on by a department store in Atlanta, Georgia, Negro authors were among those featured.

¶ In Jacksonville, Florida, a Negro charged with a misdemeanor was shot by the policeman and then paraded, wounded and bleeding, through the street until finally he was carried to a hospital where he is in danger of death.

¶ In North Carolina, colored one-teacher schools have decreased from 2,376 in 1901 to 1,125 in 1927. The two-teacher schools have increased from 338 to 705 between 1915 and 1927, and three-teacher schools from 65 to 269 in the same period. There is still apparently almost no transportation for colored children in the state.

¶ The Colored Wage Earners' Savings Bank failed over a year ago in Savannah, Georgia, and the State Banking Department sued the Directors for $227,215. An Auditor was appointed and last week the Directors were assessed $104,629. The case will now have to be approved by the Judge and then the Directors can have the case tried before a jury if they wish. There was no charge of personal dishonesty.

¶ Mrs. Sallie W. Wiggins of Yancyville, North Carolina, a prominent white woman, died in Baltimore recently and left a large part of her $100,000 estate to Mrs. Sallie Graves, her Negro servant.

¶ For the year 1927-28, the white schools of North Carolina had property valued at $90,772,114, and the Negroes at $10,157,251. The value per child attending was $150. for the whites, and $31. for the Negroes.

¶ There are in North Carolina, 748 high schools for whites and 108 for Negroes. Of these, 551 of the white high schools are accredited, and 41 of the Negro high schools.

¶ Meharry Medical College is moving in close proximity to Fisk University. The site has already been bought, and will run approximately from 18th to 21st Avenue, North, and from Heffernan to Albion Street. The general idea will be to produce a plant after the latest ideas in medical education and similar to the new medical buildings of Vanderbilt University. Provision will be made for the four branches of instruction, namely: medicine, dentistry, pharmacy and nurse training. The home for nurses will be in close proximity with the other buildings, but under a separate roof and will accommodate at least 65 nurses, in training, and 8 or 10 supervisors and instructors. The General Education Board and the Rockefeller group, are to raise one and a half million dollars, and the Rosenwald Fund has agreed to give a quarter of a million dollars, making a total of one and three-quarters of a million. The estimated cost of the grounds, the buildings and the equipment will be around two million dollars. These Boards feel very strongly that the alumni of the college, the Negro people and friends of the institution should raise the other quarter of a million.

¶ The Dining Hall of the Florida Baptist Industrial and Agricultural Institute at St. Augustine, Florida, has been completely destroyed by fire. N. W. Collier is Principal. The school has a thousand acres of land and had just erected $50,000 worth of new buildings.

¶ The State Board of Control of Education in Florida has recommended appropriations of $3,000,000 for two state white schools and less than 500,000 for the Negro school. There were in Florida in 1920, 329,487 Negroes out of a total population of 968,470.

THE SOUTH WEST

¶ Coy Stevenson of Cleo Springs, Arkansas, is a prominent farmer, owning three quarter sections of land and sixty-one head of full blooded cattle. Recently, he and his wife drove to Oklahoma City in their automobile and visited the zoo at North East Lake Park. This is a public park, supported by general taxation, but the Stevensons were told by the attendant: "We don't allow Niggers in here," and were compelled to leave.

WEST AFRICA

¶ A curious controversy is going on among English and Africans concern-

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ing the credit for introducing the cocoa industry in West Africa, where the whole of the cocoa crop is produced by peasant African proprietors. The credit of starting the culture has been given to a Negro, Tetteh Quarshie, Former Governor Guggisberg, says that Quarshie brought pods from Fernando Po in 1876. With these he started a plantation and distributed seed among the natives. Now that the crop has become so large and important, a number of white Englishmen are claiming the honor of introducing the culture.

¶ Mr. Samuel J. Forster was born at Bathurst, Gambia, British West Africa in 1873. He was educated at the local schools and in England, receiving his B. A. from Merton College, Oxford, in 1896, and later his M. A. and B. C. L. He was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple in 1898. He practiced as Barrister and Solicitor in the Supreme Court at Bathurst from 1899 and was a member of the Legislative Council and Justice of the Peace. He received the order of M. B. E. in 1897, and has been acting recently as Police Magistrate.

SOUTH AFRICA

¶ There are as many natives in Johannesburg as Europeans, but the natives are not allowed upon the regular street cars and must often walk five or six miles to and from their work. There are a few special cars for them but they run only intermittently.

¶ The Portuguese Government has adopted plans for constructing a bridge across Zambesi River. This will connect the railways of South and East Africa.

¶ The recent National European-Bantu Conference held at Capetown is described by its Chairman, Mr. Howard Pim, as "a landmark in the history of South Africa." Three such conferences have been held, the first at Johannesburg in 1923, called by the Dutch Reformed Church. Among the leading natives at the recent conference were D. D. T. Jabavu, Dr. James Moroka, John L. Dube, Mrs. C. M. Maxeke, (Charlotte Manye), and the Reverend Z. R. Mahabane. The Conference asked for more land for the natives, agricultural schools, a land bank and co-operative credit, equal rights in industry and work, better justice in the courts, the repeal of the Pass Laws, and better hospital facilities.

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